LABOR LOOKS AT TAFT-HARTLEY: SAMUEL H. COHEN

THE Nation

February 6, 1954
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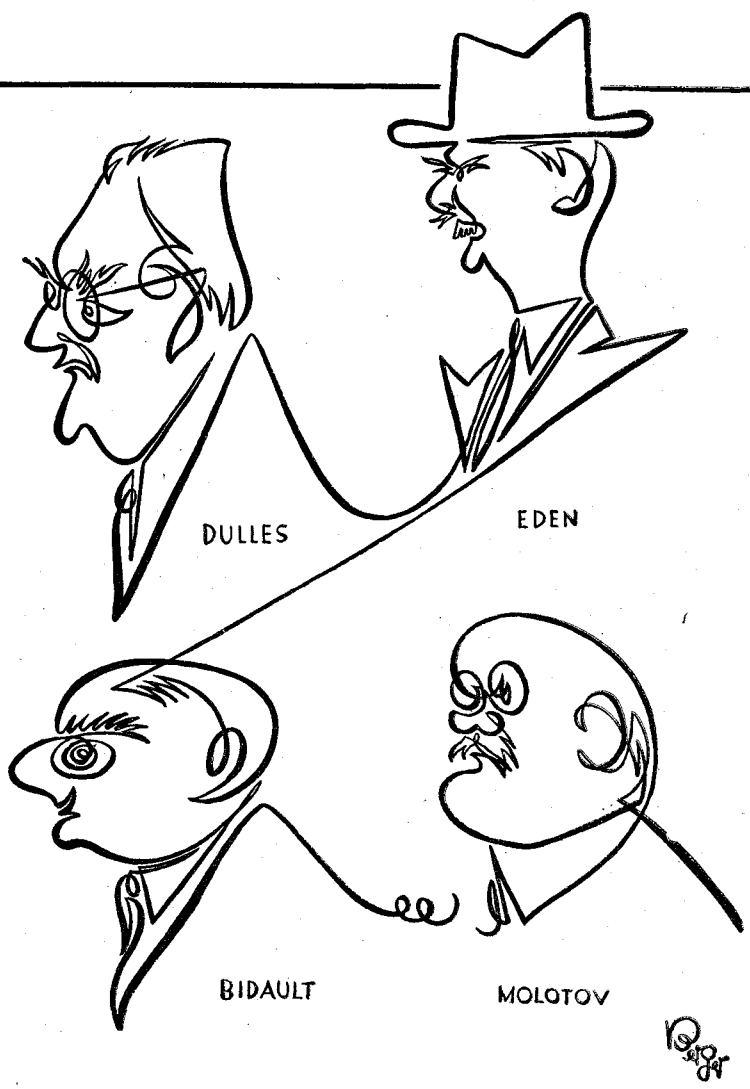

BERLIN REPORT

by J. A. del Vayo

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Spies in Government, II — *Norman Redlich*
Fair-Weather Budget — *Keith Hutchison*

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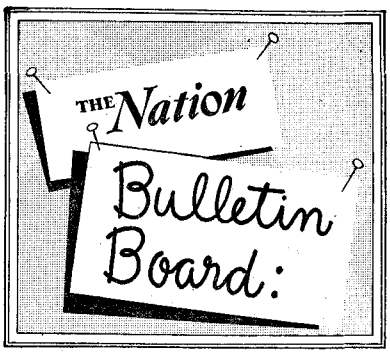

THIS WEEK'S COVER by Oscar Berger is something of a tour de force. The artist did the caricatures of Dulles, Eden, and Bidault with a single continuous line. Then, when he had finished off Bidault with a little squiggle at the small of the back, he was overcome with a sense of the historical realities. He lifted his pen, left a narrow margin, and drew Molotov separately. We can only hope that the narrowness of the margin will be justified by coming events.

MAIN BUSINESS of this particular column is The Nation's Choice, our book club. The first selections, you will recall, were chiefly political—Isaac Deutscher's "Russia: What Next?" and Kingsley Martin's "Harold Laski." None of us here were surprised that the books did well—hundreds of readers responded, the majority with orders for both volumes. Politics are meat and drink for *Nation* readers, not to speak of *Nation* editors. Yet when it came time to select another set of books to offer, all of us were in the mood for a change of pace. That explains in part our January selections, announced last week: "The Space Merchants" by Frederick Pohl and C. M. Kornbluth, "Fahrenheit 451" by Ray Bradbury, and "Childhood's End" by Arthur C. Clarke. All three are science fiction and all are acknowledged to be tops in their field. The only question is whether it is a field that will interest *Nation* readers. We think it is, and we already have letters—with orders—to indicate that we're right. Here are a few excerpts:

"Obviously a man can think better up among the stars than down here where the McCarthy winds are always roaring around his ears. I've been reading science fiction for several years now and peculiarly I get a greater sense of reality from some of these fantasies than from so-called 'realistic' novels, which never seem to come to grips with the problem I am interested in—the drift of our civilization."

"Congratulations for getting us away from the troubles of today into the troubles of tomorrow. . . . At least we don't have to worry about doing something about them. Send me all three selections."

"I note in your advertisement of your Nation's Choice No. 2 that you refer to science fiction as 'escape literature.' As a devotee, I resent the term. The masters in the field are seeking no escape, either for themselves or for us. They are simply spinning out today's realities into tomorrow's probabilities . . . and they are doing it with more courage than most novelists of today."

"I've read Bradbury's 'Fahrenheit 451,' but send me all three books anyhow. As a *Nation*-type liberal I find it eminently satisfying that there is a group of writers in America today who are facing the problem of individual liberty and the individual conscience. I suppose it is easier to tackle these issues on a space ship than in a witness chair in front of McCarthy-Velde-Jenner."

WHAT IS remarkable about the letters we have received is their almost uniform recognition of the social and political implications in the better type of science fiction. If one reason we chose these books was that we wanted a change of pace, the other reason has been set forth clearly in the letters quoted. The best of science fiction, we are convinced, belongs on the shelves of political-minded *Nation* readers.

A REMINDER: The three books—hard-bound, not pocket books—would regularly cost $6. The Nation's Choice price for all three is $3 (plus 24 cents for postage and handling). Look in your last week's *Nation* for the handy order card or drop us a postcard or letter to order your copies of The Nation's Choice No. 2. The three books must be bought as a unit since that is the only way we can offer the very substantial saving in the price.

MARTIN SOLOW

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Volume 178, Number 6
New York, Saturday, February 6, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Silence in Washington

In all the commotion over Franco's recent provocative moves toward France and Britain the voice of America has been conspicuously silent. When the demonstrations in Spanish Morocco against the French-imposed Sultan took place and particularly after the speech by General Valino, Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan, praising the Moorish leaders for demanding separation from French Morocco, the French government confidently asked the United States for support. No support has been forthcoming, and the situation remains unresolved. Franco has not officially granted the demands of the Moorish chieftains, but he expressed "utmost satisfaction" with their demonstration. Meanwhile the French, taking measures to defend their position in Morocco, have shipped the deposed Sultan, Mohammed ben Youssef, from his place of exile on Corsica to a still-undisclosed island in the Pacific, and have guaranteed his successor full protection.

Some Europeans hostile to the pact between Franco and the United States are charging that the whole flareup in Spanish Morocco was engineered by the Americans. They say that although Franco had protested against French action in deposing the Sultan without consulting Spain, he would never have permitted the Moorish demonstrations without American approval. There is no proof of this. But one thing is sure: Franco has steadily become more aggressive and more arrogant since the signing of the pact with the United States.

The revived clamor for the return of Gibraltar and particularly the demand that Queen Elizabeth give up her projected visit to the Rock are other symptoms of this new inflated mood. In terms of Franco's interests they were ill-conceived, for they outraged just that conservative sector of British opinion which would normally have viewed with complacence his challenge to the French. But puffed-up pride is evidently stronger than the dictate of expediency.

The question still hangs in mid-air: why is the United States saying nothing while Spain tosses threats and insults at our two main European allies? Is Washington willing to see Spain gain prestige, if not actual power, in North Africa at the expense of France? In view of the added importance of American air bases in Morocco under the Administration's new military strategy, such a change would be of grave significance.

The Nelson Decision

The importance of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's decision reversing the conviction of Steve Nelson, the Communist Party official who had been sentenced to twenty years in prison and fined $10,000 for violating the Pennsylvania Sedition Act of 1919, has not been widely appreciated. The conviction was reversed on the ground that the Pennsylvania Sedition Act was "superseded or invalidated" when Congress adopted the Smith Act in 1940. Since a state's jurisdiction of crime extends only to acts committed within its borders and there was no evidence that Nelson had ever advocated the overthrow of the government of Pennsylvania, his conviction was illegal. The decision probably sounds the death knell for existing state criminal-syndicalism laws and such legislation as the Trucks Act in Michigan. It also points to the ultimate dismissal of the long-pending prosecution of Dr. Dirk Struik and his codefendants under a Massachusetts sedition act. And it calls in question the validity of such legislation as the 1951 New Hampshire act under which the attorney general of that state is now conducting a one-man inquisition. While the field of "anti-subversive" legislation has thus been sharply delimited—assuming that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's decision is not reversed—it is quite possible that the pressures for additional federal legislation and "anti-subversive" activity may be intensified.

Failure of Nerve

The leadership of the Democratic Party continues to exhibit a remarkable failure of nerve. Senator McCarthy's position has been strengthened by the return of the three Democratic Senators to the Subcommittee on Investigations, from which they made such a dramatic exodus six months ago; the concessions made to induce their return are of little importance. It was the Democrats, not the Republicans, on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy who most savagely cross-examined their colleague, Representative Robert L. Condon, when he appeared before the committee to deny that he is or ever was a Communist. And it was the Democratic leadership—Senator

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Lyndon Johnson of Texas and the minority whip, Senator Earl Clements of Kentucky—who made it impossible for the liberals in the Senate to wage an effective fight against confirmation of Robert E. Lee, friend of McCarthy and protégé of J. Edgar Hoover, to the Federal Communications Commission. The only plausible explanation for this is that Senator Johnson is up for reelection this year and wants if possible to avoid a primary battle with Governor Shivers, a favorite of the same oil tycoons who have wined and dined Senator McCarthy in Texas.

Even so, Senator Monroney managed to muster twenty-five votes against confirmation and, according to Doris Fleeson in the New York *Post*, was listened to intently when he described how television enabled "this one oil man"—H. L. Hunt of Facts Forum, for three of whose programs Lee had served as moderator—"to shout with the voice of millions." Voting against confirmation were the Republicans Aiken and Smith (Maine); the Democrats Anderson, Douglas, Fulbright, Gore, Green, Hayden, Jennings, Hill, Humphrey, Jackson, Johnson (South Carolina), Kefauver, Kennedy, Kilgore, Lehman, Long, Mansfield, Monroney, Murray, Pasture, Sparkman and Symington; and the Independent Morse. Neely (D.) and Flanders (R.) paired against confirmation. Given this showing, impressive under the circumstances, it is apparent that Senator Monroney might have been successful if the Democratic leadership had elected to make a party issue of the appointment. The Democratic leaders must now share with the Administration responsibility for a shockingly bad appointment to one of the most important agencies in Washington.

Three Good Awards

In the five years of its existence the National Book Award, sponsored by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, and the Book Manufacturers Institute has established itself as something more and better than a glamorized promotion stunt; the committee's critical discernment has made the award a mark of real distinction. The three gold medals this year went to Saul Bellow for his novel, "The Adventures of Augie March"; Bruce Catton for the third of his Civil War trilogy, "A Stillness at Appomatox"; and Conrad Aiken for his "Collected Poems." In each case the choice added to the prestige of the award, as the award increased that of the winner.

We take particular pleasure and pride in the selection of Bruce Catton, a contributing editor of *The Nation* whose frequent Washington reports are among the most valued features of the magazine. A newspaperman long before he became a historian, Mr. Catton has the journalist's gift of seeing the men behind the events; of showing how they behave, why they do what they do, and what their acts and motives add up to in the final reckoning.

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Fair-Weather Budget

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

MR. EISENHOWER'S campaign promises to end deficit financing always seemed to me to denote naivete on his part and cynicism on the part of his expert advisers. Consequently I was neither surprised nor shocked to find that we have not yet achieved a balanced budget but merely a "trend" in that direction. What is more remarkable is the fact that the Administration no longer assigns top priority to that goal. "The budget will be balanced," Secretary of the Treasury Humphreys told a press conference on January 21, "as soon as we think it can be done in the framework of a balanced economy"—a sentiment that if uttered by a Fair Dealer would be denounced as Keynesian heresy.

A New York *Times* editorial on January 22 declared that President Eisenhower had proved to be "the master, and not the creature, of his budget." This judgment seems, to put it mildly, a little premature. In the first place, the budget has yet to run the gauntlet of Congress, and it is by no means certain that it will emerge from that ordeal unscathed. Representative Daniel A. Reed, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, is already very ostentatiously sharpening his cutlass for the purpose of making further tax slashes. As a minimum he is insisting that the reduction in corporation-income tax from 52 to 47 per cent, which automatically becomes effective on April 1, must stand despite the President's plea to Congress to rescind it. He is likewise determined to permit excise rates to return to their pre-Korean level, as they will do on the same date barring new legislation. If Mr. Reed has his way, that "trend" toward a balanced budget will make an about-turn.

Again, it is by no means certain that Congress will indorse the President's spending plans unchanged. In particular, it would seem that his provision for agriculture—some $300,000,000 less than this year—will prove quite inadequate unless he can persuade Congress to adopt his farm program. Moreover, in an election year, and more especially at a time when unemployment is rising, legislators are very apt to sponsor additional appropriations for public works.

Of course, such increases in expenditure, if they occur, may be balanced by Congressional cuts in other fields. Yet it is clear that the Eisenhower Administration has failed to discover large amounts of superfluous fat in the civilian branches of the government. It has trimmed all it could in that direction, but inevitably it had to cut much deeper into defense in order to achieve a total reduction in expenditure large enough to justify any reduction in taxation.

Total expenditure provided for in the new budget is to be about $5,300,000,000 less than the revised 1953-54 estimate. Of this sum reductions in defense spending account for nearly $4,000,000,000, a saving made possible largely by the momentous decision to scrap the long-held concept of "balanced forces" and replace it with the concept of "massive retaliation." It is legitimate to ask whether the economies achieved are a pleasing by-product of the new strategy or whether that strategy owes less to a change in military thinking than to the political urgency of a cut in spending big enough to make possible a cut in taxes and still hold the deficit to moderate proportions.

Whatever the answer to this question, the new policy, with its lessened emphasis on United States ground forces, gives greater urgency to the maintenance of Allied armies which may be called upon to defend the bases from which planes assigned to "massive retaliation" are launched. It is not surprising, therefore, that the President is asking for a modest increase in the Mutual Military Program. He may have difficulty, however, in persuading Congress to follow his line of thought on this program. Economy always begins abroad.

THESE are some of the political hazards to which Mr. Eisenhower, like all budget-makers, is subject. Now let us consider some of the economic hazards, for even if the budget is approved by Congress *in toto,* it can still be wrecked by changes in the economic weather.

Clearly the President is betting on sunny skies in 1954-55 despite the fact that at this time the economic barometer is falling. As the New York *Journal of Commerce* has pointed out, the budget estimates implicitly assume, first, that personal and corporate incomes will be sustained around current levels; second, that the Administration will not be forced to increase expenditure in order to check recession. I for one find it hard to believe that these optimistic assumptions are justified. At the present time unemployment is rising rather rapidly and now exceeds two million. Most economists, even those who regard the recession as no more than a period of adjustment, expect it will pass three million by June. Such an increase, together with the current decline in the average work week, must mean an appreciable decline in total wage incomes. At the same time the downward trend of such economic indicators as railroad traffic and steel and automobile production suggests a decrease in corporate earnings which will be reflected in tax collections.

Supporters of the Administration will no doubt claim that the budget has been designed to check these adverse trends and to keep the economy on an even keel. They will point to the recent bullishness of the Stock Market as evidence of renewed business confidence, although it may be no more than a demonstration of gratitude for favors received and anticipated. Certainly investors have reason to feel that their interests are dear to the present Administration. The excess-profits tax is no more, and now a new tax-revision program predicated largely on

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the need to stimulate investment has the blessing of both the President and the Ways and Means Committee.

Yet it may be that Mr. Eisenhower, in his eagerness to bolster business confidence, is forgetting the greater urgency of a fillip to consumer confidence. We can agree readily enough that a high rate of investment is vital for the maintenance of prosperity, but it is also necessary to remember that the primary incentive to invest is not favorable tax treatment but sustained consumer demand.

In a recent book, "The Standards We Raise," Paul Mazur of Lehman Brothers pointed out that "the fantastic American manufacturing mechanism gives substantial evidence of its ability to create products faster than they will be consumed unless the tempo of consumption by all segments of the economy is greatly quickened." Since so much of our spending is deferable, anything that lessens our confidence in the security of our current incomes will cause a slackening of this tempo. If, hearing of widespread lay-offs, we begin to wonder about the permanence of our own jobs, we tend to make do with the old car, postpone redecorating the house, have our shoes resoled instead of buying new ones. But what is obvious prudence for the individual may, if practiced by millions, result in collective disaster.

This, then, is the danger we must guard against, remembering that in the past decade our capacity to produce has expanded enormously while in the past year the tempo of consumption has slowed down. Yet I find little in the budget calculated either to raise consumer confidence or to increase mass purchasing power. The much-heralded 10 per cent cut in income tax will make little difference in the take-home pay of those in the lower brackets: for millions, indeed, the saving will be more than offset by the increase in the social-security levy. And most of the President's proposed tax revisions will benefit a relatively limited group. Whatever arguments may be made in their favor, from the point of view of national economic health they ought to have a lower priority than tax changes that add to mass purchasing power and so broaden the market for the mass-production industries. Particularly appropriate for this purpose would be an increase in personal and dependency allowances and a cut in excises. If the recession shows no sign of abating in the next two months, Congress ought to consider such moves. No doubt they would spoil the looks of Mr. Eisenhower's budget; but so too would a recession that is allowed to gather momentum until it is too late to check it except by far more drastic methods.

BERLIN REPORT

What Price Unity? . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Berlin, February 1

IN THE last analysis the Big Four conference here is about the European army, which Molotov wants to abort and Dulles to save. The tactics as well as the strategy of both sides are geared to this single issue, with the Russians seeking to show that a remilitarized Germany will lead to war and the United States maneuvering to make it possible, in case of a deadlock, to say to the French, "Now there is no alternative but ratification of E. D. C."

In this framework the individual moves become comprehensible, including Molotov's bid for a discussion of world disarmament. The Kremlin knows it must yield something somewhere to win France and possibly Britain from the American position. But it can yield more on Asian questions, or disarmament, or indeed on almost any other issue, than it can on Germany. That is why Molotov insists on throwing everything into the pot and why Dulles is equally insistent on keeping everything out—except Germany.

Dulles's acceptance of Molotov's proposal to place a five-power conference first on the agenda won him acclaim and cost him nothing. For the American delegate made it perfectly clear that his country's basic position remains unaltered: "I would like to state here plainly and unequivocally what the Soviet Foreign Minister already knows—the United States will not agree to join in a five-power conference with the Chinese Communist aggressors for the purpose of dealing generally with the peace of the world. . . . [It] is one thing to recognize evil as a fact and another thing to take evil to one's breast and call it good." Here the religious leader triumphed over the diplomat.

It is a measure of Europe's present state of mind that Dulles's acceptance of the Russian agenda proposal, despite its conditional nature, was hailed everywhere with relief. Western newspapers registered it as a tactical victory for the Big Three. At the first Soviet press conference, held on Berlin's coldest night this winter, it was declared to be a triumph for Molotov. The truth of the matter is that it was really a victory for Bidault, who forced an unwilling Dulles to take the step. But wherever the credit should go, the important thing is that everyone was pleased.

From the point of view of pure form, Bidault's was undoubtedly the best of the opening statements. As to its substance, nobody in Washington could complain; it differed little from what Dulles had to say. Nor could Washington reproach Eden with showing a lack of understanding for the need of a German military contribution to Western

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defense. But this very harmony among the Big Three could prove, in the end, one of the most formidable obstacles to the success of the conference. One gets the impression that the Western delegates are more interested in maintaining solidarity than in probing for possible points of compromise with the Russians. In their obsession for unity against what they believe to be the Kremlin's determination to split them apart, they may miss valuable opportunities for mediation. That is why Bidault's speech in particular disappointed those who had hoped he would take advantage of this chance to seize the initiative, after the Quai d'Orsay had been paralyzed for so many years by fear of antagonizing the Americans.

OF COURSE as the conference proceeds, Western unanimity may show itself more apparent than real. There exist in the Western delegations perceptible differences of opinion as to how the sessions are to be prevented from dragging on and on without facing the principle considered basic by the West: that Germany should be "united in freedom" by the methods of the democracies. The Americans are against any "unnecessary" waste of time, while the French counsel "Let us show infinite patience," to quote the formula of M. Bidault which provoked an ill-humored rebuke from Chancellor Adenauer. The British, halfway between the Americans and the French, think that the West should not hurry the negotiations unduly, although it should avoid the interminable wrangling that stalemated the Palais Rose conference.

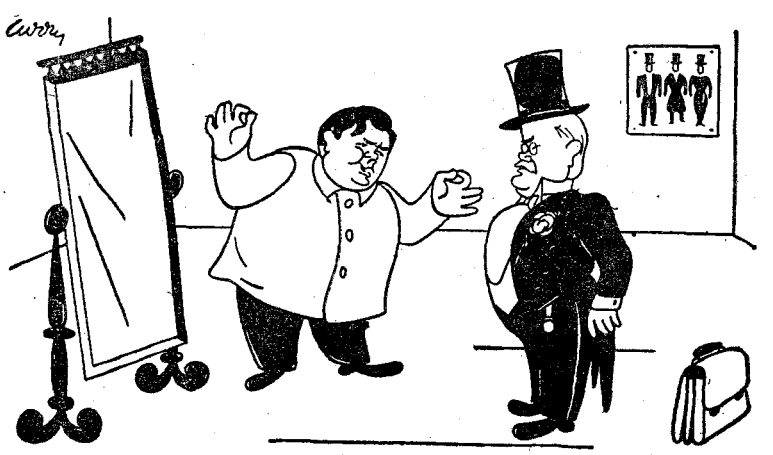
M. Bidault feels the weight of French public opinion opposed to undue haste. The French want this conference to succeed. Its success would free France from the disagreeable choice of accepting German rearmament or disappointing and antagonizing Washington by refusing to ratify the E. D. C. treaty. The French diplomats at Berlin are consequently under pressure from their own people to seek an agreement among the "proper" Four—Washington, London, Paris, and Moscow—rather than among the "wrong" Four—the three Western capitals and Bonn.

The French hope that Russia will offer them an opportunity to reconcile the opposing points of view. They have been encouraged by certain hints from that side, generally transmitted through the medium of the East German press, which should be watched as closely as *Pravda* for indications of Russia's future moves. Judging from this press, the Russian delegates have a "maximum" and a "minimum" program. The maximum program would give priority to a peace treaty based on the 1945 Potsdam agreement, making the Oder-Neisse line definite and establishing the neutralization of Germany. A provisional government for Germany would be named, not elected, after direct negotiations between Pankow (the East German capital) and Bonn. This provisional government would then make arrangements for elections and present its views on the peace treaty drawn up by the occupation powers. The minimum program would drop the insistence on Potsdam and concentrate on measures to reduce tension and lower barriers within Germany by negotiations between the East and West German governments. Together with increased trade between the two parts of Germany, the minimum program would provide for limitation of the police forces of both, for freer cultural exchange, and for everything else that would facilitate the future reunification of Germany—but of a Germany substantially disarmed.

The principal battle will be over the method and meaning of free elections. Here too nuances of difference can be detected. Some of the Western delegates think they can put Molotov in a difficult position by sticking firmly to the demand for free general elections as the first step. A blunt refusal on his part might discredit his whole argument in the eyes of the majority of Germans. Others, especially among the French, believe that all possible approaches to this tricky question should be examined. They think that if the conference broke down on that single point, Western diplomacy and propaganda, not Russian, would be placed in an uncomfortable position. The British are reminded that they have carried out in their zone an electoral procedure very different from that now demanded by the Western powers. The provisional cabinets of the *Länder* and the Zonal Advisory Council were appointed by the British after consultations in 1946, and were themselves able to supervise, if not to organize, the *Landtag* elections which followed in April, 1947. Also, in 1948 the Bonn Parliamentary Council was elected by the *Länder* parliaments and itself organized the first "free" *Bundestag* elections in August, 1949. These precedents might point the way to a compromise on the election issue if the Russians on their side show a willingness to make concessions on other vital points.

While there are many shades of opinion in Berlin, there is a sharp dividing line between those who fundamentally desire German rearmament and those who oppose it. The first use a general argument—"the urgent need to defend Western civilization" from the threat of Russian attack. The argument of the other side is expressed in figures still fresh in everybody's memory. The price for allowing Hitler to rearm was 22,000,000 soldiers and civilians killed and 34,000,000 wounded. It was a high price; but next time it would be much higher.

Nobody expects that the conference will succeed in ending the cold war. But only the Cassandras, and those who are convinced that the way to handle the



Pre-Conference Instructions

Courtesy *Franc-Tireur* (Paris)

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Russians is to bomb them, believe that nothing good will come of it. The problem is to find the points of possible compromise. The longer the conference lasts, and the broader the agenda, the more likely it will be that such points can be found. In this sense Western insistence on limiting debate primarily to the German problem will not improve the chance of arriving at some agreement. A Western diplomat put it to me this way:

It is ridiculous for the West to object to discussing Asia with Molotov simply because it is in that area that we differ most among ourselves. Instead of opposing a five-power conference we ought to be the first to propose it. Any real settlement with the Communist world, which today stretches from Prague to Shanghai, can be obtained only on a global level. It is neither Chiang Kai-shek nor Syngman Rhee whose voice really counts; it is Mao's.

Merely saying "Germany" to Mr. Molotov every time he says "China" will not get us very far. Even if in the last analysis it is on the German issue that we shall finally reach accord or go to war, the fact is that the Korean truce points up Asia as the region where a compromise could today more easily be reached. The Russians are wrong on many things, but not in insisting on a *tour d'horizon* when it comes to the causes of world tension.

We are discussing all these matters here privately among ourselves. Why not discuss them with Molotov?

True enough, the Western delegations were disappointed in Molotov's initial statement and in their "corridor" contacts with him. They saw in everything he said a repetition of Moscow's note of November 3 and the last two major *Pravda* editorials. But was there much that was new in the speeches of his three distinguished opponents? I found the pessimistic Western reaction a little premature, just as I found somewhat excessive the emphasis with which the Americans have daily told the press that Adenauer is being constantly informed of proceedings and that his views will carry weight.

Perhaps the favorite word at this conference—at least with the Americans—is "constructive." Dulles adroitly capitalized on the disappointment engendered by Molotov's opening remarks by praising the "constructive" proposals of Bidault and Eden and blaming the Soviet Foreign Minister for the lack of a "constructive" approach. Yet in the minds of many observers a truly constructive attitude would be for the West to say to Molotov: "It is quite clear from your speech, and from all other available evidence, that what your country fears most is the rearmament of Germany. What, then, are you ready to sacrifice on the global level if we yield on the German question?" If this were proposed to the Secretary of State, he would undoubtedly answer tartly that the United States favors neither horse-trading nor the sacrifice of principle to expediency.

Mr. Dulles insists that it is only an *idée fixe* on the part of the Russians that an E. D. C. would be dominated by German militarism. But I have been in Europe for ten months now and almost every day has brought me new proof that if fear of German militarism can be called an *idée fixe,* then not Russia alone but most of Western Europe is seized with it.

One thing can be said: the first week of debate ended in a better atmosphere than it began. Even the early exchanges on Germany were such as to indicate that the monologues which have characterized diplomatic exchanges between Moscow and the West for the last year have been abandoned. That in itself is a step forward.

TAFT-HARTLEY

In Labor's View . . *by Samuel H. Cohen*

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S January message to Congress on Taft-Hartley amendments definitely did not try to satisfy organized labor's basic criticisms of the act. It bore little relationship to the President's nineteen-point program of August, 1953, which had caused Martin P. Durkin to resign as Secretary of Labor. The January message, which would precipitate the government into labor-management disputes up to its political neck, was the result of a political evaluation of the conflicting views of the White House "brain-trusters"—an evaluation dominated not by Secretary of Labor Mitchell but, ironically, by Secretary of Commerce Weeks. It undoubtedly will afford Congress a Roman holiday in the labor-law field.

To understand the prospect for labor it is necessary to review recent labor history and the events that led up to the message. On July 5, 1935, the Wagner Act was passed. It had a long evolution, being preceded by Section 7 (a) of N. R. A., the rulings of the First World War Labor Board, and similar laws. The objectives of the Wagner and Taft-Hartley acts as set forth in their "findings of policy" were substantially as follows: (1) to encourage workers to organize and bargain collectively with their employers free from interference from their employers; (2) to remove labor costs from competition; (3) to avoid depressing the purchasing power of wage-earners and remove the disparity between production and consumption, thus limiting the prospects of unemployment and depression. From 1935 to 1947 the Wagner Act was not amended by Congress. In 1947 Taft-Hartley was passed over President Truman's veto and was branded a blatantly slave-labor law by the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and independent unions. It not only hampered union growth by checking the normal rate of new organization, especially in

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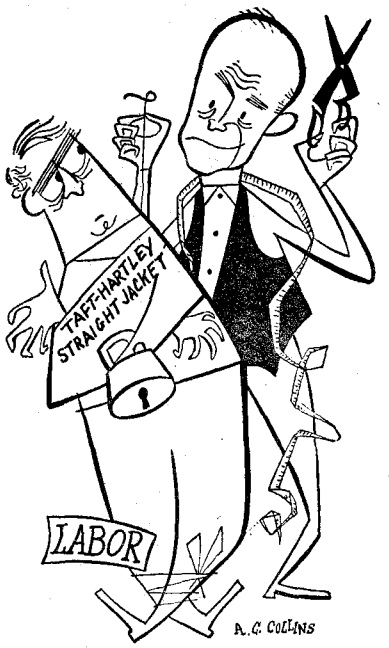
the rapidly growing industries of the South, but softened union bargaining demands by making Taft-Hartley procedures available to employers.

Taft-Hartley definitely represented a shift in national policy. The Wagner Act sought to encourage collective bargaining and succeeded, as is evidenced by the growth of union membership from less than four million in 1935 to more than fifteen million in 1947. Taft-Hartley proceeded on the theory that individual workers needed protection from their chosen representatives in the same way as employers did and that employers needed augmented protection. As a result, while it defined many individual employee rights, it made it possible to bring unfair-practice charges against unions for specific concerted action against employers. In the eyes of organized labor it represented a successful effort by the employers of the country to have the government interfere in labor disputes on management's side.

The late Senator Taft was the first to admit that in many respects the law was not consistent with the needs of workers or with sound labor relations, and in the Eighty-first, Eighty-second, and Eighty-third congresses he sponsored some twenty-odd amendments. Congress, however, passed only one, in 1951. This eliminated the requirement of union-shop elections, which was plainly a meaningless provision, since in 46,146 elections conducted by the Labor Relations Board less than 2.8 per cent of the workers had rejected the proposal for a union-shop contract.

LET US NOW look at the record of candidate Eisenhower, President Eisenhower, and the Eighty-third Congress. In September, 1952, at the A. F. of L. convention, candidate Eisenhower said: "I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know how the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting and neither do I." In numerous speeches during the campaign Mr. Eisenhower made substantially similar allusions to Taft-Hartley and declared that he favored extensive changes which would tend to remove the government from collective bargaining. In his 1953 and 1954 State of the Union messages and in his January labor message President Eisenhower reiterated his belief that the role of government in labor disputes should be curbed and should be directed toward encouraging the "processes of mediation and conciliation."



"All it needs is a little tightening."

In the early part of 1953 both the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, headed by Senator Taft, and the House Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Representative Samuel K. McConnell, Jr., initiated thoroughgoing Taft-Hartley revision hearings. Organized labor, through A. F. of L. President Meany and C. I. O. President Reuther, presented its views. The N. A. M. and U. S. Chamber of Commerce made proposals which would practically have meant the destruction of the labor movement. Neither the Senate nor the House committee took any action.

Last summer the job of preparing a Presidential message to Congress proposing specific revisions to Taft-Hartley was assigned to the White House staff, Secretary of Commerce Weeks, Secretary of Labor Durkin, and Congressional leaders. The program they prepared in the name of President Eisenhower, consisting of some nineteen points, was never sent to Congress, but in August its contents leaked out in their entirety to the *Wall Street Journal*. Many of its suggestions favored labor and had been supported by both Taft and Durkin. Only one of them, the Chamber of Commerce advised its members in September, 1953, had a desirable significance for business men.

When the President failed to send these proposals to Congress, labor ended its attempt to cooperate with the Administration, and Mr. Durkin resigned. The A. F. of L. convention passed a resolution approving Mr. Durkin's version of the events leading up to his resignation rather than the President's. A further meaningful resolution read in part: "Your committee desired to make it clear that the nineteen proposed amendments . . . do not meet the objectives of the labor movement and have no A. F. of L. sanction or approval. Whatever their origin, we can regard their substance only as a first step in the right direction but by no means as the attainment of the needed revisions we are seeking."

The C. I. O.'s general counsel, Arthur Goldberg, and President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers took the same position as President Meany of the A. F. of L. President Beck of the A. F. of L. Teamsters was quoted in the New York *Times* of November 15 as suggesting that unless the Administration made substantial changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, a labor party, much as he abhorred the idea, might come into being, "if only on a temporary basis." Some labor groups are still urging outright repeal of Taft-Hartley, but they are a minority of organized labor.

THE SECOND-THOUGHT January message was a retreat from the nineteen-point program and has been attacked by every responsible labor leader. It favors labor in three parts and employers in nine. And it invites Congress to pass additional and stronger anti-labor amendments. Whereas President Eisenhower spoke of giving a worker the opportunity to express his choice in a secret ballot when he is called on strike, Senator H. Alexander Smith, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has introduced a bill proposing that a secret ballot be taken "on the question of whether they [the strikers] wish to continue the strike."

The President's strike-ballot recommendation amazed all labor experts. It was not urged by any of his labor-management advisers. It has been attributed to Secretary of Commerce Weeks, who ignored the fact that all previous government attempts to supervise balloting had failed to change the pattern of voting—

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the membership in more than 90 per cent of the cases having voted to support their unions and leadership. Senator Ives said he was opposed to the strike ballot "because it would be unworkable and the cost would be prohibitive," and pointed out that last year there were more than five thousand strikes. Secretary Mitchell admitted that the polls would cost millions of dollars annually and also that they were contrary to his often-stated principle that the government should intervene less in labor matters.

THE STATEMENTS of labor leaders before Congressional committees and their own membership indicate that labor generally would like to see Taft-Hartley revised in the following ways:

1. Administration of the act should be restored to an autonomous National Labor Relations Board. The splitting of this agency into two divisions—one under the jurisdiction of the board itself and the other under the general counsel—is without parallel in United States administrative law. This set-up leads to fragmented authority and to delayed and compromised decisions.

2. The act should encourage workers to organize by restoring the definitions of employer, employee, agent, and supervisor that existed in the Wagner Act. The Wagner Act permitted the board to charge unfair labor practices against individuals or groups who were not in a strictly legal sense employees or agents of management.

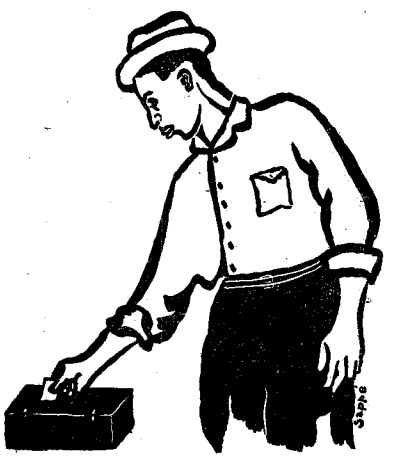
3. The so-called "free-speech" provision for employers should be removed. The First Amendment's requirement of free speech, together with the National Labor Relations Board's interpretation of that requirement in the case of employers, which was sustained by the United States Supreme Court in the Virginia Electric case and similar cases, is sufficient protection for employers. The employer has a constitutional right to express his views on labor problems, subject to the corollary that he does not injure the rights of workers as granted by law.

4. All injunctive provisions which provide that the general counsel, without the approval of the board, may either mandatorily or voluntarily request injunctions in boycott or other "unfair" labor practices should be eliminated. Under Section 10 (1) several temporary injunctions have been granted by federal courts because the general counsel had "reasonable cause" to believe the employer's charges to be "true," only to have the board and the courts, a year or more later, decide that no violation of Taft-Hartley had occurred.

President Eisenhower partly met labor's wishes in the January message by recommending limiting the injunction provisions, but his proposals do not go far enough. Just as employers may obtain the support of other employers, usually through trade associations, unions should be permitted to have the cooperation of other organized workers. The so-called secondary boycott of Section 8(b) (4) (A) interferes with many union practices that have for years been regarded by legislatures and courts as legitimate labor objectives. Organized labor would like Taft-Hartley changed so that no peaceful picketing activities, regardless of whether so-called secondary boycotts are involved, would be prohibited or become the basis for damage suits. Unions in secondary-boycott situations have been fined millions of dollars.

5. The union-security provisions of Taft-Hartley are inadequate and have seriously interfered with sound collective bargaining in all industries. President Eisenhower suggested softening the anti-union-shop strictures for the construction, amusement, and maritime industries because of the casual nature of employment in those industries.

6. All the filing requirements of Taft-Hartley should be repealed or much simplified. In no event should the failure to be in technical compliance bar a union from access to the N. L. R. B. All parties—labor spokesmen, employers, and members of the National Labor Relations Board—who appeared before the 1953 Congressional labor committees agreed that the required filing of Communist affidavits had little effect on the issue of Communists in unions. All believed that the Communist issue should be handled in some other way than through Taft-Hartley. In August the President characterized this section as "discriminatory" as well as "ineffective" and decried the singling out of a particular group such as labor unions. But in January he proposed its retention and as a sop to labor asked that employers also be required to file Communist affidavits.



7. Most important, federal labor law should be regarded as overriding state law in all areas where "interstate" and "affecting interstate" commerce are involved. Section 14 (b), which gives priority to state laws over Taft-Hartley with respect to union security, should be repealed. In his nineteen-point program the President recommended that Taft-Hartley be altered so as to "recognize the paramount authority of the federal law in the interest of uniformity throughout the United States," but he repudiated this position in his January message.

UNDER existing conditions over fifteen states have outlawed union shops and passed "right-to-work" laws which have successfully prohibited peaceful picketing and stimulated not only injunctions but many damage suits. State judges have interpreted Taft-Hartley more narrowly than the Labor Relations Board. Employers have shopped between state courts and federal courts in their search for decisions which would favor them. The United States Supreme Court in the recent Garner case reaffirmed federal supremacy, subject to police-power areas reserved to states. President Eisenhower's allusion to this case in his proposal for a study of states' rights presaged a diminution of federal preemption in labor matters.

The anti-labor attitude of state legislatures and courts, which has been especially apparent in non-industrial states, was inspired by Taft-Hartley. Representatives of industrial states who are on Congressional labor committees, such as Representative McConnell of Pennsylvania, Senator Smith of New Jersey, Senator Ives of New York, and Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts, should give serious consideration to the industrial

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migration from New England to Southern states, where employers are offered the protection of anti-labor laws and courts as well as a supply of cheap and controllable workers.

No labor leader believes that organized labor's program as here summarized will be adopted in any substantial degree by the Eighty-third Congress or urged by the President. The only hope for amending Taft-Hartley appears to be by political action in the campaigns of 1954 and 1956. Only through the efforts of a strong labor movement can living standards be raised and a balance maintained between machine-age production and human consumption. It is axiomatic that imbalance causes depressions—and the avoidance of depressions is in itself one of the chief goals of federal labor legislation, including Taft-Hartley.

SPIES IN GOVERNMENT

II. The Jenner Report . . *by Norman Redlich*

[*In the first instalment of Spies in Government, which appeared last week, Mr. Redlich made the point that Republican charges of Democratic laxness toward subversion were based largely on the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, which he analyzed and found full of loopholes. This is the concluding instalment. Mr. Redlich is a member of the New York bar.*]

THE report of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, headed by Senator Jenner, was based on the story that Elizabeth Bentley first told to the F. B. I. in 1949 and repeated before the committee in 1953. Attorney General Brownell said of the report: "The work of this subcommittee has documented with great care the result of the very successful Communist espionage penetration in our government during World War II and thereafter. . . . This subcommittee has recently published a very excellent report documenting these facts."

What did the Jenner committee add to the Bentley story to justify such praise? What was the nature of the documentation? On a hasty reading the report may appear to build up a strong case in support of Miss Bentley's charges, but on closer examination it turns out to be chiefly a restatement of these charges in another form. Its method is skilfully to pile one inference on another until the unwary reader is convinced that the original charge is true.

First, the report demonstrates in great detail that the accused persons held important government jobs. In the 1930's they worked in various New Deal agencies, then they moved into the war agencies, and as the war drew to a close, they got posts in the new international agencies. But these facts prove nothing. It was quite natural for men in the war agencies to shift later to the international agencies. Such transfers become suspect only by virtue of the charges since brought against the men. To say that documentation of this kind proves the accuracy of the charges is like finding proof of a bank teller's embezzlement in documentary evidence that for twenty years the man was employed as a bank teller.

Second, the report shows that these men knew one another and used one another to get jobs or promotions. Miss Bentley said in her testimony, "Once we got one person in, he got others, and the whole process continued like that." It is interesting to note how this reasoning has been made to work both ways. The report indicates, for example, that David Weintraub is suspect because he employed Irving Kaplan. Two pages later Kaplan is condemned because he was hired by Weintraub. Inferences of this kind leave several questions unanswered. Was it not normal for a government employee to give the name of his superior as a reference? Did not these men have other and more important references than those mentioned in the Jenner Report? By selecting only the names mentioned by Miss Bentley does not the report give the false impression that these men received their promotions or jobs solely on the recommendation of other accused men? Cross-examination might reveal that they were promoted or transferred for other reasons. The circumstances would have to be studied before they could be called suspicious. Such a study was never made by the Jenner committee.

The third step in the reasoning is to link some of the accused persons with policies which many people today consider pro-Russian or pro-Communist. In White's case it was the Morgenthau Plan to reduce the industrial potential of Germany. In the case of Nathan Witt and Edwin S. Smith it was the policies they followed while they were employed by the National Labor Relations Board. Lauchlin Currie is linked to the loss of China because he was at one time President Roosevelt's personal emissary to Chiang Kai-shek. A group in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is linked to communism because "they wanted to purge the A. A. A. of all business men or all others who did not welcome the coming of the new day of revolution." Other men were connected with some of the troubled events of the 1930's—strikes or the movement of migrants into California.

This type of evidence proves very little. The Communists were not alone in seeking to reduce for all time the war-making potential of Germany. Churchill and Roosevelt favored the plan. Nor was indignation over the plight of migrant laborers confined to the Communists. It is patently unfair to infer Communist sympathies, let alone espionage, from advocacy of a foreign or domestic

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policy which was also favored by the Russians or by American Communists. Furthermore, this type of evidence omits any reference to the possible differences between the policies of the accused persons and those of the Communists. Such information would be brought out only if the accused could present witnesses in his own behalf and cross-examine his accusers. Congressional investigations do not afford these basic protections, and in consequence the reports of the investigating committees tend to give a one-sided picture—perhaps the truth but certainly not the whole truth.

THE FOURTH and perhaps the most impressive inference is drawn from the invocation of the Fifth Amendment by practically all the accused persons. Repeatedly the report takes the use of the Fifth Amendment as proof that the charge is true. Yet it has been amply demonstrated (see Does Silence Mean Guilt? in *The Nation* of June 6, 1953) that innocent as well as guilty witnesses may have good grounds for invoking the Fifth Amendment. An outside observer can draw no conclusion from an individual's refusal to testify unless he is acquainted with the facts of the particular case. In the specific situations exposed in the Jenner hearings the automatic conclusion of guilt is especially unfair, for several reasons.

It should be noted, first, that some of those who invoked the privilege in 1953 had answered questions freely before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948, when the identical charges were made. An undisclosed number had answered questions freely before the grand jury in 1947 and had not been indicted for either espionage or perjury. Whatever reasons some had for invoking the Fifth Amendment in those earlier years, their situation had become even more dangerous in 1953. Each man knew he had been accused of being an espionage agent. Many of them might have been willing to risk a perjury charge by denying this specific accusation, but the experiences of William Remington and Owen Lattimore indicated that if they talked they would risk perjury on a watered-down charge which in the mind of the public would still be espionage. For example, a government employee who felt confident he could safely deny charges of espionage might think twice before he denied that he was a "Communist sympathizer" or, as in Remington's case, that he gave Miss Bentley documents to which she was not entitled. The slighter the charge the easier it becomes to sustain a perjury indictment.

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

It Isn't Even Safe to Resign Anymore

This normal fear of committing perjury was increased by the fact that many of these men knew one another and that some were close friends. Their testimony might incriminate a friend or, if it differed factually from that of one of the others, might result in a perjury indictment against the witness himself or the other person.

Finally, each of the accused spies knows that the present Administration is practically committed in advance to proceeding with a perjury charge against the first one who denies he was a spy. Mr. Brownell and Mr. Hoover have stated publicly that the accused men are guilty. If any man were to deny this guilt under oath, the Department of Justice would either have to seek a perjury indictment or admit that the evidence was not so overwhelming as had been claimed. In view of the possibility that the perjury indictment might deal with a charge easier to sustain than espionage, an innocent witness might well feel compelled to claim his constitutional privilege of silence.

The evidence presented in the Jenner Report against each of the accused men cannot be fully studied in this space. Against some there are certain facts not mentioned above. Victor Perlo, for example, has written a book, "American Imperialism," which is alleged to follow the Communist Party line. One man turned up in Panmunjom in the company of Communist correspondents. For the great majority of the accused men, however, the pattern of proof is the same: first, the Bentley story; second, evidence that they held many government jobs during the period in question; third, evidence that they had helped hire and promote one another; fourth, evidence that some of their policies coincided with those of the Communists; fifth, their invocation of the Fifth Amendment before the Jenner committee in 1953. If the Jenner Report is thus reduced to its fundamentals, the missing link in the chain of evidence becomes apparent. There is still no proof, other than Miss Bentley's story, that these men were spies.

The Jenner committee apparently realized this weakness and made a few attempts to provide such evidence. The report points out that agents of the Office of Strategic Services found secret government documents when they invaded the office of *Amerasia* in 1945. It brings in the Canadian spy ring and quotes the statements of the Canadian Royal Commission that through espionage much technical information was made known to the Russians. Nevertheless, nothing in the *Amerasia* case, the report of the Royal Commission, or the Jenner Report connects the members of Miss Bentley's alleged spy rings with any act of espionage.

EVEN IN THE section of the Jenner Report called The Bentley Ring's Harvest one looks in vain for some documentary proof of guilt. Instead, there is Miss Bentley's very general description of the type of information transmitted. It included, she said, "all types of information . . . highly secret information . . . that they [the O. S. S.] were trying to make secret negotiations with governments in the Balkan block. . . . Complete data as to almost all types of aircraft production in the country." To those who accept the Bentley story without question, this omission in the Jenner Report may seem immaterial. To those who look to the Jenner Report for the much-advertised documentation of espionage, the omission is significant.

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On the available evidence, therefore, one must challenge the accuracy of the editorial writers, columnists, reporters, and government officials who have been saying over and over again that a documented case of espionage has been presented; and it is politically and morally dishonest to pretend otherwise.

The political lesson to be learned from this is clear. If the Democratic Party accepts as "proved" what has not been proved, it will have given up an important bastion against the charges of subversion in its ranks. It will have missed the opportunity to fight back with an argument that has always appealed to Americans—the call for fair play. The lesson for the general public is equally clear. Certain men have been accused of a terrible crime—espionage against their own government in behalf of a foreign power. Our concept of due process of law requires us to refrain from drawing conclusions of guilt until we receive more evidence than has so far been supplied. Moreover, the evidence available must be examined for its bearing on the guilt or innocence of each accused individual. The concept of collective guilt is repugnant to Americans.

WINDOW ON GERMANY

A Look at *Die Zeit* . . . by Frederick Wallach

DIE ZEIT, a well-edited German weekly published in Hamburg, represents the thinking of some of the most powerful social and political groups in West Germany today. Its political editor is Marian Dönhoff, a countess, and its readers are drawn mostly from the German "upper classes"—the nobility, the industrialists and financiers, former officers. There is nothing quite like it in the United States; in Britain the London *Observer* might be considered a counterpart, although the resemblance is stronger in presentation than in political content.

Because *Die Zeit* provides a window into significant German thought, an analysis of a typical issue may be of interest to American readers, who do not often have an opportunity to learn directly from German sources what influential Germans are thinking. In the issue of November 26, a typical one in every respect, the Harry Dexter White case is given exceptional prominence on the first page. The headline reads: "By Orders of Moscow H. D. White Directed United States Policy During the War." The story, a dispatch from New York City, says that White was probably "one of the five or six most powerful men in the United States during the war. . . . He was co-responsible for the Allied 'unconditional surrender' policy." He was also, it says, "probably co-responsible for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor," since he "cooperated with Richard Sorge in Tokyo." The reference is to the German diplomat who became a Soviet spy in Japan during the war.

The story goes on: "In any case, as shown by Morgenthau's book, President Eisenhower originally supported the Morgenthau Plan [for reducing Germany's industrial potential], which had been drafted by Dexter White, and the President has now finally recalled the conversation he had with White about it in the summer of 1944."

There are several interesting implications in this handling of the White case. One is that Washington and Moscow, rather than Tokyo or Berlin, were responsible for Pearl Harbor, since White, who was running the United States for Stalin, was allegedly cooperating with Stalin's agent Sorge. Another is that the Morgenthau plan for Germany was a Moscow plot which General Eisenhower supported. One thing is clear: in spite of all the Eisenhower Administration has done for West Germany, it has not won the loyalty even of those conservative circles which could be presumed to have benefited most from current American policy.

In another first-page article Paul Bourdin, under the heading Waiting for England, hints that while Germany could conclude an armed alliance with the United States at any time, hasty action might increase French alarm over German rearmament. Therefore, says Bourdin, it would be better to develop a "German-British" instead of a "German-American" policy; "The Americans don't object," he says confidently. With the British drawn closer to the European Defense Community, he thinks the French would be forced to accept German rearmament.

In a brief but eloquent piece another writer complains that Prussia has been "liquidated" by the Allies "in the same manner as the priests and aristocrats were liquidated during the Russian revolution." He argues that Prussia is not a geographical concept but a spiritual idea; it stands for the principle that the welfare of the people—the state—comes before the welfare of the individual. He concludes by declaring that the German people are longing for this "Prussian spirit."

On page 3 there is an interesting item which begins by pointing out that Yugoslavia needs German tourists to help overcome its adverse balance of trade with West Germany. It then recounts the experience of a German tourist guide who stopped with his group on a Yugoslav highway between Dubrovnik and Zetinje to point out where an S. S. division of which he had been a war-time member had fought the Yugoslav partisans. After observing a "moment of silence" in honor of the S. S. dead buried at the spot, the tourists proceeded to Gruz, where the guide and some of his group spat at a Yugoslav war memo-

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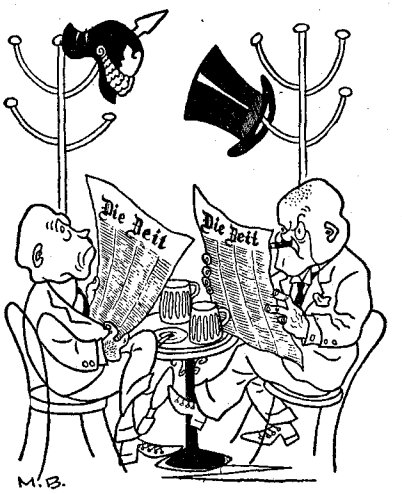
rial. Some Yugoslav onlookers promptly thrashed the guide and threw him into the Adriatic. Ultimately he was rescued by Tito's police. *Die Zeit's* correspondent, aroused by such treatment of German tourists, asserted that the Yugoslavs who attacked the guide should have been thrown into the sea, not the guide.

In a rambling article entitled Infiltration of Veterans' Associations, H. Berling derides the Allies for having described the *Forum for Military Politics,* which was edited by a brother of former Field Marshal von Reichenau, as a "ranking German military magazine." There is more in this magazine than meets the Western eye, says Berling, including the fact that its editor is the tool of a Soviet military agent named Steidl who is currently financing the publication of another military periodical, the *Deutsche National Zeitung.* The latter, writes Berling, stands for "armed neutrality" between East and West and vehemently rejects any Western orientation. Berling reminds his readers that last October 7 the *DNZ* called for a leader "for whom the word treason means as little as it did for the old man from Tauroggen." It was at Tauroggen that the Prussian General York—the "old man"—placed the army corps with which he was supposed to fight the Russians at the disposal of the Czar, who was then fighting Napoleon. York has been a German hero ever since.

The chief editor of the *DNZ* is Günther Pahl, who was on the editorial staff of Goebbels's *Das Reich.*

MOVING FROM politics into literature, *Die Zeit* retains its cynicism. The leading book review in its November 26 issue deals with an Italian novel, "Atrocity in Ethiopia," the story of an Italian lieutenant who during Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia seduces a young Ethiopian woman. He comes upon her while she is bathing in a stream. A hyena rudely invades the love scene, and the officer, shooting at the animal, gravely wounds the girl instead. Because there is no doctor available and the girl is suffering, the lieutenant then gives her the *coup de grâce.* The affair leaves the young man with a guilt complex which threatens to wreck his marriage; moreover, he discovers that the girl had been a leper, which does nothing to add to his peace of mind. In the end, with his guilt still lying heavy upon him, he returns to his wife. *Die Zeit's* reviewer liked the book: "It needs courageous readers . . . he who wants to experience truth must be courageous." But there is one aspect of the story which the critic could not understand: why should the lieutenant have suffered from a guilt complex?



Under the circumstances, he asks, what could the officer do but kill the girl once he had wounded her?

Another book praised by *Die Zeit* is "The Little History of France," by Friedrich Sieburg, who was an aide to Otto Abetz, Hitler's Gauleiter of France. The reviewer extols Sieburg for "not belittling the Franco-German conflict, as is usually done nowadays, but picturing it in all its irreconcilability." Sieburg's own view of France is summed up in a brief passage quoted by the enthusiastic reviewer: "France has based her triumph on German disaster and has designated the perpetuation of this disaster as her most vital goal."

Another article, by Indro Montanelli, an Italian, is the fourth instalment of a series entitled When I Look at My Fellow-Countrymen. The author asserts with great satisfaction that "there never has been a real de-fascistization" of Italy and prides himself on having told the truth about the Nürnberg trials in 1946: "To try the Nazi leaders was as absurd as it was stupid. The majority of the military leaders showed great dignity and died with their boots on. . . . I wrote the same about the trial of General Kesselring [head of the German forces in Italy during the war], and a great many people wrote me approvingly."

Die Zeit gives extensive coverage to economic subjects. In this issue two features are devoted to cartels. In one Gunther Gruneberg, supporting the laissez faire liberalism of Adenauer's Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, argues that cartels would wreck the "German democratic state." The second, circuitously written and managing to convey the impression that it is closer to *Die Zeit's* own economic thinking, decries cartels in general terms but concludes that "vertical" cartels are respectable. For, asks the author, are not the "vertical" type found in France although prohibited to Germany by the Western powers?

PERHAPS a clearer insight into *Die Zeit's* attitude toward trusts is to be found in the things it does not say. On pages 12 and 13 of the issue, for instance, appears the final financial statement of the Klöckner Werke company on the occasion of the dissolution of the giant combine under German anti-trust regulations. The statement identifies the Klöckner directors as Günter Henle, son-in-law of Peter Klöckner; Robert Pferdmenges, Hitler's former representative on the board of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke and now Adenauer's chief financial adviser; and Richard Manger-Hamburg. On page 14 the first balance sheet of the successor organization to Klöckner is published, and the reader finds that the directors of the new concern are—Henle, Pferdmenges, and Manger-Hamburg. *Die Zeit* makes no editorial comment.

Which way the wind blows for this newspaper is indicated by its handling of another item. The previous week had brought the death of former S. S. General Stuckardt, co-author with Dr. Hans Globke of the official Nazi commentary on the Nürnberg law of 1935, and chairman of the notorious "Wannsee conference" called by Hitler to blue-print a plan for the liquidation of European Jewry. *Die Zeit* listed his death as among the important ones of the week and gave him the following one-sentence obituary: "Secretary of State slated for reappointment, Dr. Wilhelm Stuckardt, general manager of the Institute for the Economy of Lower Saxony."

The spiritual climate of the "new" Germany the West is helping to create is revealed clearly in this issue of *Die Zeit.* If what we see is not pleasant it is at least a good deal more informative than the press hand-outs of the Bonn government.

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BOOKS

Political Peregrination

THE AGE OF SUSPICION. By James A. Wechsler. Random House. $3.75.

By Scott M. Cutlip

THIS is Jimmy Wechsler's story—the story of a political journey which started when he enrolled in Columbia in 1931 as a precocious youngster of less than sixteen, took him into the stultifying darkness of communism and then out again, and ultimately brought him to the middle ground of militant liberalism. Here he stands today, caught in the crossfire of the Communists and the McCarthyites.

But this is more than Jimmy Wechsler's story. It is an illuminating political document of our times, laying bare the twin elements that forever threaten free peoples—the totalitarians of the left and of the right. In telling his story Wechsler gives us a helpful insight into the lure of communism for idealistic but foolish and sometimes neurotic souls caught in economic and social upheaval; sheds new light on the violent struggle within *PM,* journalism's ill-fated noble experiment; provides interesting background for the beginnings of Americans for Democratic Action, one of the real liberal forces in the country today; describes the cruel and degrading methods of the Communists in their capture and use of an embittered and bewildered Henry Wallace; and, finally, puts in bold relief the crude cunning of Joe McCarthy in smearing all who dare oppose him.

Wechsler's somewhat premature autobiography comes as a sequel to those stormy sessions of last spring when he was haled before McCarthy's committee on the pretext that one of his books had been found in a library of the United States Information Service somewhere overseas. McCarthy's purpose becomes transparent as one examines the hearings and finds that the book in question was little discussed and never identified. More accurately, the hearings were used —in the words of *Editor and Publisher* —"as an attempt to intimidate a newspaperman for expressing editorial views with which the Senator disagrees"—specifically, views hostile to McCarthy and thus, by the Senator's reasoning, Communist-inspired. Little wonder that a group of distinguished American editors labeled the whole bizarre performance "a peril to American freedom."

In Part I of his book, The Age of Rebellion, Wechsler tells how a brash teen-ager who entered college with "the haziest kind of political background" was drawn into the labyrinth of communism through a succession of student strikes, peace rallies, and picket lines. Once involved in the Young Communist League, Wechsler found the clandestine gatherings "almost irresistibly soporific"; ". . . to be forced to fight off drowsiness in the inner circle of the noblest cause on earth was a dismal augury of things to come." In retrospect it seems a foregone conclusion that his roving, critical mind would not be long strait-jacketed by the stifling orthodoxy of communism. At twenty-two, disillusioned and disgusted, he quit the Young Communist League after three and a half years as a minor functionary—" a fragment of a man's life." His wife, Nancy, quit at the same time. Thus ended for them both what in saner times would have been soon forgotten as sheer adolescence.

Wechsler left "the movement" convinced that "one did not have to become a storm trooper on leaving the Communist army." His pursuit of "something that may be reasonably described as sanity" is recounted in Part II, The Age of Responsibility. This tells of his coming of age intellectually and politically as an articulate anti-Communist. He got his new start on *The Nation,* where "the notion of working in a place where people said what they thought rather than what someone told them to think . . . seemed as close an approach to emancipation as I could achieve in this life." Both Jimmy and Nancy found "real joy in reacquiring intellectual independence." Wechsler went on from *The Nation* to an unorthodox and double-barreled journalistic-political career on *PM* and later on the New York *Post,* with time out for military service.

As a foe of communism, both in the newspaper field and in the political arena—it has never been possible for Jimmy to stick to the neutral role of reporter since his days on Columbia's *Spectator*—he was frequently attacked by the Stalinists. While he gives the impression that his battles inside *PM* and the Newspaper Guild were wholly ideological, they were often clashes of personality or contests for policy control with no red issues directly involved.

THE COMMUNIST attacks on Wechsler—"that busy little red-baiter"—take on an ironic twist when placed alongside the grim, harrowing McCarthy quizzing which is reported in Part III: The Age of Suspicion. In these hearings we see displayed what has been termed McCarthy's "brute brilliance"—"his formula under which our whole society could be transformed into a universe of suspicion. What a man has said or done could no longer be accepted as bearing the slightest relationship to what he was or what he believed. More likely, it was a disguise to conceal his hidden allegiances to exactly the reverse of what he claimed to stand for." No wonder Wechsler felt as though he had been "catapulted into the realm of madness" when confronted by this man "of little conviction and infinite artfulness," "as cold-blooded about ideas as about human beings."

The viciousness of McCarthy's methods and what the liberal's defense against them should be come to a focus in Wechsler's decision to give McCarthy the names of all those he had known as Communists in his Y. C. L. days in return for publication of the testimony given at the secret hearings. In the agonizing moment of making this decision Wechsler "did not believe there was a clear-cut right or wrong" and found himself "weighing rival expediencies. It was wrong to expose others to McCarthy's wickedness, but it was equally wrong, in my judgment, to embrace the principle that a former Com-

SCOTT M. CUTLIP, associate professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, was formerly a newspaper reporter and public-relations executive. He was co-author of "Effective Public Relations," published in 1952.

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munist should tell nothing to anyone." Many admirers of Wechsler have argued that his decision to give McCarthy the list was unjustified, even by the results. They assert, with sense, that you do not bargain with McCarthy by using the names—and thus the reputations—of a number of probably innocent people as counters. We all know that there is no appeasing the totalitarian. Yet who of us not caught in Wechsler's dilemma can easily judge the rightness of his decision, which was based on a "belief that Joe McCarthy wanted silence, not submission" and a determination "not to walk into his trap"?

In this revealing story of his political peregrination, Wechsler continues the good fight against the extremes of the left and the right by reminding us of the methods used by these twin tyrannies over the human spirit. His book should give knowledge and strength to those laboring against both. Unhappily, the final chapters in "The Age of Suspicion" are not yet written. And you may be sure that the provocative and sometimes quite doctrinaire Jimmy Wechsler will have a much bigger story to tell before he is through.

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Recent Advances in Science

THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN READER. Simon and Schuster. $6.

By E. U. Condon

THIS book is heartily recommended to those who would like to get a fresh perspective on the important problems and recent progress of fundamental science. The story is a fascinating one in its own right and also as a corrective for the wrong emphasis in general thinking which tends to identify scientific research more and more with a vast activity in developing horrible weapons carried on by shady individuals who any day now will be revealed as spies and traitors.

In some six hundred pages by more than fifty authors there are only fifteen pages devoted to the military uses of modern science, which is about the correct proportion for the true importance of this subject in modern culture. About half of these fifteen pages, which contain two articles on the hydrogen bomb, are taken up with a discussion of the ethical problems associated with the use of such a terrible weapon or even with the mere threat of using it.

The book consists of carefully selected articles which have appeared in the *Scientific American* over the past five years. The articles are grouped under twelve main subject headings, each section having a brief introduction which sets the articles in proper relation to modern scientific progress as a whole and to one another. To one who had read most of them as they appeared in the magazine, it was amazing to see what a satisfying sense of adequate coverage and unified treatment had been achieved by putting them together in one place.

An idea of the scope can be obtained from the main section headings: Evolution in Space, Structure of the Earth, Structure of Matter, Atomic Energy, Origin of Life, Genetics, The Virus, Stress (in the emotional sense), Animal Behavior, Origin of Man, The Brain and the Machine, Sensation and Perception.

In the hope that other collections of this kind will be made by the editors of the *Scientific American* and with the aim of making them more useful, I offer two criticisms of the present work: more attention should be given to modern psychiatry and mental-hygiene problems—represented here by only two, although excellent, articles; and the magazine's usual practice of including well-selected suggestions for further reading on each topic ought to be carried over into any collection of reprinted articles.

IT IS BECOMING commonplace to remark on the growing complexity of modern scientific research, both as to concepts and theories and as to the experimental techniques employed. This complexity makes the problem of expounding the ideas and results of science in a generally interesting and understandable way much more difficult than it was in the nineteenth century. The *Scientific American* articles have satisfactorily solved this problem by giving a concise general introduction to the state of knowledge in the field before going into details about the particular new advance being reported. The reader is thus provided with the necessary background not only for understanding the newest results but also for appreciating their significance. Particularly commendable is the willingness of the authors to assume that the reader has an honest interest in science for its own sake, and to allow him to be comfortable instead of constantly striving to amaze him and to drag him into the posture of sitting breathless on the edge of his chair.

For more than a decade now the public relations of science in America have been dominated by the theme that the principal point and purpose of scientific research is to invent new weapons. A generation of young people is growing up who have never known the emphasis to be anywhere else and who are perhaps perplexed when asked to think of science in other terms. This book will be helpful to them.

E. U. CONDON is the retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a former director of the National Bureau of Standards.

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New Books in Brief

Democratic Appeasement

BEYOND CONTAINMENT. By William Henry Chamberlin. Regnery. $5.

This volume is yet another addition to the steadily lengthening list of books designed to show that the Democratic Administration, and notably President Roosevelt, appeased the Soviets and enabled communism to intrench itself in China and Eastern Europe. The author, who should, and probably does, know better, argues that F. D. R.'s "uncompromising" policy destroyed the chances of a "reasonable agreement" with Japan before Pearl Harbor (at China's expense?); that a relatively small "sacrifice of blood and treasure" in China in 1945-48 might have saved Chiang Kai-shek and averted the war in Korea; that there is no possibility the peace-loving Germans would turn on France. And if China went Red, this was to a large measure the fault of a United States conspiracy involving the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Lattimore, Mr. Jessup, assorted book reviewers, etc., etc.

As to what happens "beyond containment," Mr. Chamberlin has several ideas, not all of them novel. In Eastern Europe he would demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops, in the belief that without them the satellite regimes would eventually collapse. In the Far East he would "stir up an uprising in South China, timed to coincide with a landing in force by the Chinese nationalists." This dangerous balderdash is delivered with an air of pseudo-scholarly detachment and expertness. All in all, an effort that does little credit to a noted observer of some twenty years ago and that illustrates again what has been happening in recent years to one wing of American journalism.

Inspired Brass Hat

THE ATOMIC SUBMARINE AND ADMIRAL RICKOVER. By Clay Blair, Jr. Henry Holt. $3.50.

The Atomic Energy Commission should have had the honor of constructing the world's first atomic engine, and that engine should have been dedicated to irrigating the Sahara and other projects for the betterment of the free world. This is what the late Senator MacMahon had in mind when he fought to make the commission a civilian agency, not a military one. Yet had it not been for Hyman G. Rickover, recently an obscure captain in the navy's Bureau of Ships, the commission and its scientific advisers might still be exchanging highly classified letters about the technical difficulties of the engine.

Rickover was, and is, a man with an obsession—an atomic-powered submarine. In its planning stage his navy superiors did not regard it as anything more than a "desirable" gimmick; only last June they almost retired Rickover with his work still incomplete and without his admiral's stars. The A. E. C. also had reservations. How he overcame these obstacles, from early in 1949, when the project was finally approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to only yesterday (January 21), when the U. S. S. Nautilus was launched, is told by *Time's* Pentagon man, Clay Blair, Jr. Uncritical as this book may be, it is both a revealing story of Washington's dead wood and a plausible portrait of an astonishing personality. Born in Russia in 1900, the son of a tailor, Rickover has always been a "misfit," a walking repudiation of "Navy Reg." Until this episode his highest seagoing command was an ancient rusty minesweeper. Yet one feels that with a few more such "misfits" as Rickover the defense establishment would be in much healthier condition today.

Conflicts in Palestine

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM TODAY: ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS. By Carl Hermann Voss. Beacon. $1.50, cloth; 75 cents, paper.

Dr. Voss, who has studied Palestine on many trips to the Middle East, has set himself a difficult task in this compact little book. It is to pose, and answer, more than half a hundred nubby questions about Israel, the Arab states, the conflicts between Jew and Arab, American Zionism and its influ-

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ence, the interests of the big powers—in short, the basic political, economic, and racial issues in the area. In discussing these he also discusses those problems of interest to Americans that stem from the present impasse between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The result is an intelligent man's guide to a complex subject, written from the point of view of a liberal Christian churchman who is interested in the spread of democratic ideas in the Middle East and feels that Israel points the way. The pertinence of his questions may be indicated by listing a few of them: Was Palestine an Arab country? Did the Arabs accept the Balfour Declaration? Did the United States use pressure to secure the partition of Palestine? What about atrocities in the Arab-Israel war? Is Israel a democratic state; a theocracy?

In a deeply felt preface he points out that the welfare of Israel and its Arab neighbors must rest on cooperation, not enmity.

Planning Did It

THE CONQUEST OF EVEREST. By Sir John Hunt. Dutton. $6.

Good luck, good weather, good men, and good planning: this was the winning combination that conquered the world's highest peak. And of these perhaps the last was the most important; the expedition was planned with the meticulous care of a military campaign, from the analysis of reports of previous attempts and the assembling and testing of equipment down to the final reconnaissance and assault. A stirring and magnificently illustrated account of a great achievement. Of especial interest is Hillary's story of the dash to the summit.

Anatomy of Soviet Rule

HOW RUSSIA IS RULED. By Merle Fainsod. Harvard. $7.50.

A thoughtful and well-documented study of the "anatomy of Soviet totalitarianism," this volume towers above the scores of similar books published in recent years. Among the many virtues of this monumental work are its dispassionate approach and the great amount of fresh material its author has been able to uncover in Soviet publications and in interviews with refugees from the Soviet Union. It will be a long time before Professor Fainsod's studies of the organization and problems of Soviet industry, collective farms, and the new managerial class are matched elsewhere.

But perhaps the most valuable, at the moment, portions of his book deal with the loyalties and stresses within the Soviet state. The firmest loyalties, he finds, lie in the new élite of the party, government, police, army, and industrial hierarchy. The weaknesses are greatest on the underprivileged end of the social scale and especially among the collective farmers. In discussing the nature and power of the cohesive forces at play, the author notes that even the men who have escaped from the Soviet Union favor the welfare features of Soviet rule, such as free schools and medical aid, state control of basic industries, and state-assured employment. There is also an indication that the Communists have been at least partly successful in identifying themselves with Russian patriotism, for these émigrés also take pride in the industrial and military achievements of the Soviet era.

While emphasizing the general fear and suspicion which have become such an integral part of Soviet life Professor Fainsod balances the picture with his sobering conclusion that though support for the Soviet state is passive rather than active, "the ability of the regime to command the loyalty of its subjects should not be minimized." It may be questioned, however, whether he pays enough attention to the lack of any clear alternative to Soviet rule as one of the major elements of Soviet strength.

Egypt at the Metropolitan

THE SCEPTER OF EGYPT. By William C. Hayes. Harper, in Cooperation with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. $12.50.

This is the first of two volumes subtitled "A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art." The period covered runs from the Stone Age to the end of the Middle Kingdom, or about 1600 B. C. The authoritative text, by the Metropolitan's curator of Egyptian art, is accompanied by more than 200 monochrome cuts, some of them full-page but for the most part merely adequate. At the back are an enormous bibliography, indices, and a folding map.

The writing is purely descriptive and is scholarly only in the sense of its archaeological accuracy. The usefulness of this publication as a reference work can hardly be challenged, but its value as a "background" is extremely questionable. The redoubtable Will Cuppy, embarking upon history on the first page of "The Decline and Fall of Practically Everybody," had this to say about the land of the Pharaohs:

> Egypt has been called the Gift of the Nile. Once every year the river overflows its banks, depositing a layer of rich alluvial soil on the parched ground. Then it recedes and soon the whole countryside, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with Egyptologists.

Mr. Hayes also speaks of the annual inundation, but only as an Egyptologist.

Inveterate Crusader

TELL THE TRUTH AND RUN. By George Seldes. Greenberg. $3.75.

This is a relatively mellow book by an old crusader. In this story of his forty-four years as a journalist George Seldes tells how his life was influenced by meeting the great Vienna psychiatrist, Alfred

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Adler. He recounts other interesting and occasionally exciting experiences as a foreign correspondent in the twenties for the Chicago *Tribune*—including his expulsion from Mussolini's Italy and his narrow escape from physical attack; his expulsion from the Soviet Union because his dispatches did not conform to the Soviet version of truth; his removal by force from Fiume after D'Annunzio, then the local dictator, had issued an order that Seldes be shot on sight. (When he received word of the order, Seldes protested: "Not really . . . not the poet!")

By the mid-1930's Seldes had married and settled in Vermont, intending to devote his time to books and free-lance magazine writing. But the war in Spain changed his mind. With credentials from the New York *Post* he went to Spain as a correspondent. As a result of his experiences there, his politics moved radically to the left. More recently his favorable stand on Tito and on the war in Korea alienated pro-Soviet groups and contributed to the demise of his weekly newsletter, *In Fact*.

Seldes, well known for his angry crusades against newspaper "corruption," has been pointedly ignored by the press. With one or two exceptions none of the major papers or literary supplements has even listed his new book—much less reviewed it.

The Many-sided Greeley

HORACE GREELEY: NINETEENTH CENTURY CRUSADER. By Glyndon G. Van Deusen. Pennsylvania. $5.

This competent biography, while not neglecting Greeley the editor, gives particular attention to Greeley the politician. The author believes that Greeley's unsatisfied itch for office and his desire to direct Republican strategy explain many of his divagations, including the peace campaign of 1863. This was an attempt, he suggests, to head off the Peace Democrats by depriving them of their monoply of peace propaganda. The theory is not too well documented, and Greeley's conduct can perhaps be more plausibly explained as a loss of nerve by one who was basically a pacifist.

It is easier to agree with Dr. Van Deusen's finding that "the *Tribune's* editor was not half the reformer that he was supposed to be. There was a Greeley that yearned to build the New Jerusalem and whose sword leaped lightly to his hand, but there was also another Greeley who was calculating, conservative, and full of shifts and evasions, not to mention a third Greeley who could seek refuge from reality in Utopia."

Tonic for Lawyers

COUNSEL FOR THE DAMNED. By Lowell S. Hawley and Ralph Bushnell Potts. Lippincott. $3.75.

Respectability is the opiate of the legal profession. "Counsel for the Damned" is the biography of George F. Vanderveer, a former Republican district attorney of Seattle who overcame his craving for this insidious drug and dared become the attorney for the I. W. W. and "Big Bill" Haywood in the 1918 Chicago trial. Haywood jumped his bail, and Vanderveer returned, fee-less, to a Seattle which kicked him out of the Elks' Club and refused to rent him

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decent office space. His respectable friends accused him of being a traitor, and many I. W. W. sympathizers also openly distrusted him because he insisted that he was just a trial lawyer, not a propagandist.

Vanderveer lived on to find some prosperity in the prohibition era as a defender of bootleggers and a skilful personal-injury specialist. But even good times still found him on the side of the under-dog. The book is a fine tonic for the lawyers today who are torn between respectability and responsibility.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE American theater, almost wholly given to journalistic realism, hankers for more color, dream, and poetry than can find their way into this narrow mold. Efforts to break through are chiefly made off Broadway. The result is that while one is always anxious to hail these efforts with grateful enthusiasm, one is embarrassed because they rarely achieve that degree of professional polish which would make it easy to greet them as true rivals of the more conventional product.

"Bullfight," by Leslie Stevens (Theatre de Lys), is a case in point. The script is an earnest but immature piece of work which attempts to capture the romance, the tragedy, and even the psychological aspects of the ritual surrounding the famous sport. At the root of this endeavor is the yearning for that passion and vividness of life which might restore to our stage and our sense of being a glamour, a zest, an intensity which are now so painfully lacking. We are ready to take all this to our hearts. We are reluctant to acknowledge any reservations in our embrace.

The point of "Bullfight" is a bit of tragic irony. The brother to whom bullfighting is a grand and noble tradition is actually a coward: he has high aspiration in his spirit and fear in his bones. The less imaginative but braver younger brother is destroyed in his desire to live up to the picture of glory the older man sets up as an ideal. In short, the "tradition" is a fraud: true courage inheres in those who are naturally and humbly courageous.

This is perhaps clearer in my statement than it is in the writing of the play. It becomes diffused on the stage by purple patches of pantomime which in the end dominate the whole. Still, some of this color is attractive—the cockfight, for instance—and together with the sense of dedication one feels in the cast, it warms the entire proceedings. If not all the color is shaped into a coherent form, so that it sometimes seems present for its own sake and thus becomes crudely strained, credit must nevertheless be given to the director, Joseph Anthony, as well as to Mario Alcalde—who achieves a truly fine moment in the final scene in the arena—Hurd Hatfield, Milton Selzer, and Tamara Daykarhanova, for their praiseworthy reaching toward genuine theatricality.

WE SHOULD also thank John Houseman and the Phoenix Theater for bringing us one of Shakespeare's neglected plays, "Coriolanus." The play was written rather late in the dramatist's career, when, it seems, he was becoming possessed by a pessimistic view of the world. In a certain way "Coriolanus" constitutes a corollary to "King Lear." For if the theme of "Lear" is the emptiness of power—and with it most of the goods, institutions, and trappings of social life—the theme of "Coriolanus" is the hoax and folly of political life.

During the period preceding the formation of the Popular Front in France (around 1934), when "Coriolanus" was produced at the Comédie Française, the fascist-minded greeted it as a propaganda piece illustrating the meanness of the *canaille* (the riffraff—the masses—or, as they are called in the play, "the mutable, rank-scented many"). The Communist-minded made counter-demonstrations against the fascists and thus indirectly against the play.

The truth, I believe, is that Shakespeare in "Coriolanus" was not merely crying, "A plague o' both your houses," but "A plague on all your houses." In the later years of his life Shakespeare was—as most artists and poets tend to be—a compassionate anarchist. None of the political factions are treated kindly in "Coriolanus." The surface techniques of all politics had become for Shakespeare a disheartening, almost a paltry business: he believed only in human affection, in the individual's capacity for love. When a man feels this, the play infers, he is on perilous ground. When Coriolanus proves himself a man, instead of a seeker or manipulator of power, he is politically liquidated.

The Phoenix production of "Coriolanus" makes the plot and most of the words entirely intelligible. That is its chief—and I am inclined to say its only—merit. But that is not trivial. Most of Shakespeare on our stage, for one reason or another, remains opaque. When a concise production—story and line clear—is made of a Shakespeare play, we are so delighted that we forget that very little has been created. It is easy to forget, since Shakespeare gives so much through sheer language.

Coriolanus is described: ". . . when he walks he moves like an engine, and the ground shrinks before his treading; he is able to pierce a corselet with his eye, talks like a knell, and his hum is a battery." It is not Robert Ryan's fault if he does not answer to this description. The cast has many able, even excellent actors—though only a few are equipped in voice and diction for Shakespeare—but that is not enough for a drama of this kind. What is required is an over-all artistic conception as a basis for a visual, emotional "musical"—that is, a truly integrated theatrical articulation of the play's meaning. This entails more than understanding the play's lines, ordering the crowd scenes neatly, adding a few good-looking costumes, and editing the text sensibly. But, let us remember, to produce Shakespeare well with pick-up companies in four weeks is an almost insuperable task. We are still thankful for "Coriolanus."

I must defer a discussion of Herman Wouk's "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" (Plymouth) to my next article: there is much to be said. Suffice it for the moment to report my opinion that the cast in its entirety is superb and the presentation impeccable. It's a tiptop show and a deserved hit. There remain only certain questions of taste and content.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

BALANCHINE'S "Opus 34," the first new piece presented by the New York City Ballet this year, takes its place among his greatest works, the most impressive demonstrations of his creative powers in dance and theater. It is in two parts, danced to two successive performances of Schönberg's "Music to Accompany a Motion Picture"; and the first part is Balanchine's most extraordinary piece of dance invention since "Danses Concertantes"—by which I mean that it is extraordinary in the way "Danses Concertantes" was. What one saw in that work—the "changes from staccato movements to continuous ones, from rapid leaps and displacements to standing still, from one dancer solo to several all at once"; the "spurts, stops, and clipped stalkings"—all these were a special use of elements of the ballet vocabulary in a special style; and it is another such special use of a special style that one sees in the first part of "Opus 34." This one uses something of modern dance (in the way other Balanchine pieces have used elements of the American musical-show idiom); and the result is, among other things, a demonstration of how much more effectively Balanchine can use it than the modern dancers themselves. The modern element works in with the occasional distortion—the twisted distortion, for example, in the movements of the pas de deux—to make the intricate involvements of the piece austere and grim to the point of frightening. And this brings us to the relation of the dancing and the music: both are frightening, but one by the way its progression of distorted musical elements makes no coherent musical sense, the other by the powerfully coherent dance sense made by its progression of occasionally distorted movements.

For the second performance of Schönberg's piece Balanchine exercises his powers of theatrical invention; and we get, with the music that is horrible in its incoherent distortion, the gripping horror achieved on the stage by masterly use of all the resources of the theater: action, costumes, props, scenery, lighting. Here Balanchine has assistance from Esteban Frances, who designed the costumes, and Jean Rosenthal, who did the décor and lighting, that is even more spectacular than their striking contributions to the first part. At the premiere he also had the assistance of the dancers headed by Adams, Wilde, Magallanes, and Moncion who performed the difficult first part with dedication as well as perfection; and of LeClercq and Bliss who were superb in the second part. And finally he had the assistance of the accomplished orchestra and Barzin who performed the difficult music as though it were as easy as Stravinsky's "Sacre du printemps."

With a number of changes in the company's personnel there was some lack of precision in the early performances. And there were a few changes of cast: LeClercq brought her special qualities of presence and radiance to the second movement of "Bourrée Fantasque," after Wilde had brought a disastrous coarseness to the first movement; and Tallchief, substituting for Reed and Wilde, made a performance of "Serenade" enchanting. Her classical dancing in other works was again wonderfully beautiful. And Moncion's performance in "The Prodigal Son"—especially in the later scenes—again had the plastic continuity and beauty, the distinction and power that make it one of the most impressive and moving things to be seen at City Center.

I missed most of the first scene of Gluck's "Paride ed Elena," which the American Chamber Opera Society gave in concert form at Town Hall; but what I did hear was an occasional vocal piece with a beauty and expressive force that contrasted with the routine character of much of the writing, and an occasional arresting use of a powerful figure in the orchestral writing. Mariquita Moll and Paul Franke sang well; but the most beautiful singing was done by Laurel Hurley. The conductor, Arnold U. Gamson, evidently had had more rehearsal time with the singers than with the orchestra, but did a good job of holding them together.

Continuing its admirable project of recording all of Haydn's string quartets as played by the Schneider Quartet, the Haydn Society has issued the six quartets of Op. 76. All are fine works; and some are especially fine examples of the Haydn method and its results. In No. 2, for example, with the repetition of the somber opening statement there is already an unexpected change of phrase-length and contour that is only the first of the surprises in the little game that Haydn plays with the listener throughout the movement. There are subtle surprises also in the Andante movement, which don't prepare one for the bomb that Haydn explodes in the minuet: the canon in which the violins lead and the lower strings follow, making one laugh first with the boldness of the procedure and then with some of the startling details in the progression. And he turns out to

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be as brilliantly and unceasingly inventive for the same purpose in the fast movements of No. 1, especially again the minuet. Outstanding in No. 4 is the beautiful first movement whose expansive opening theme has given the work the name "Sunrise"; No. 5 also has a lovely first movement; and in both works the subsequent movements are superb. In the excellent performances I would question only what seems to me the excessively slow pace for the expansive opening of No. 4; and No. 3 is reproduced without the bright clarity of the others.

Ernest Bloch's Quartet No. 2 exhibits a refinement and subtilization of the idiom of his earlier works; and in the slow portions one hears some of the most beautiful writing he has done. The Musical Arts Quartet's performance seems excellent (Vanguard).

Letters

Raw Deal for Agriculture

Dear Sirs: As an angry farmer I am writing in support of the proposition that a prosperous nation and a prosperous agriculture go together and that a prosperous agriculture requires price supports at 100 per cent of parity.

We might think of the parity formula as a kind of escalator that keeps farm prices in line with farm expenses, so that a bushel of wheat will maintain the same buying power in terms of shirts, gasoline, or machinery. At 100 per cent of parity, farm prices in general are supposed to provide a standard of living for farm families on a par with that of other groups in the population.

Candidate Eisenhower promised farmers 100 per cent of parity in the market place with no if's, and's, or but's. Now Ike is squirming out of his promise through the "in the market place" loophole. But experience shows that except under war-time inflation the farm price level tends to stabilize close to the level of government supports.

Eisenhower's claim that lower farm prices under flexible supports down to 75 per cent of parity will make for farm prosperity is utterly fantastic. Many farmers are already on the brink of disaster as a result of the high inflexible costs of mechanized farming. A further drop in farm prices will bankrupt these farmers. The President's argument that lower farm prices will prevent surpluses is unsound economics, for with lower prices most farmers will try to bolster sagging income by increasing production.

The President has dealt farmers a special joker in his Raw Deal for Agriculture in the form of the so-called modernized parity formula based on a ten-year running average of cash prices in the market place. Suppose we were to suffer a ten-year depression with low cash prices to farmers? In the end the support level would be down to the depression level, offering no support at all.

Vigorous action is needed from the Administration and Congress to prepare a constructive public-works program that will maintain full employment and high purchasing power among city consumers. As part of this kind of anti-depression program we also need 100-per-cent-of-parity farm-price supports.

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE
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Apologies to Connecticut

Dear Sirs: In your January 23 issue you erroneously attribute the publication of an advertisement to a Milford, Connecticut, newspaper. The honor belongs to the Milford, Michigan, *Times*.

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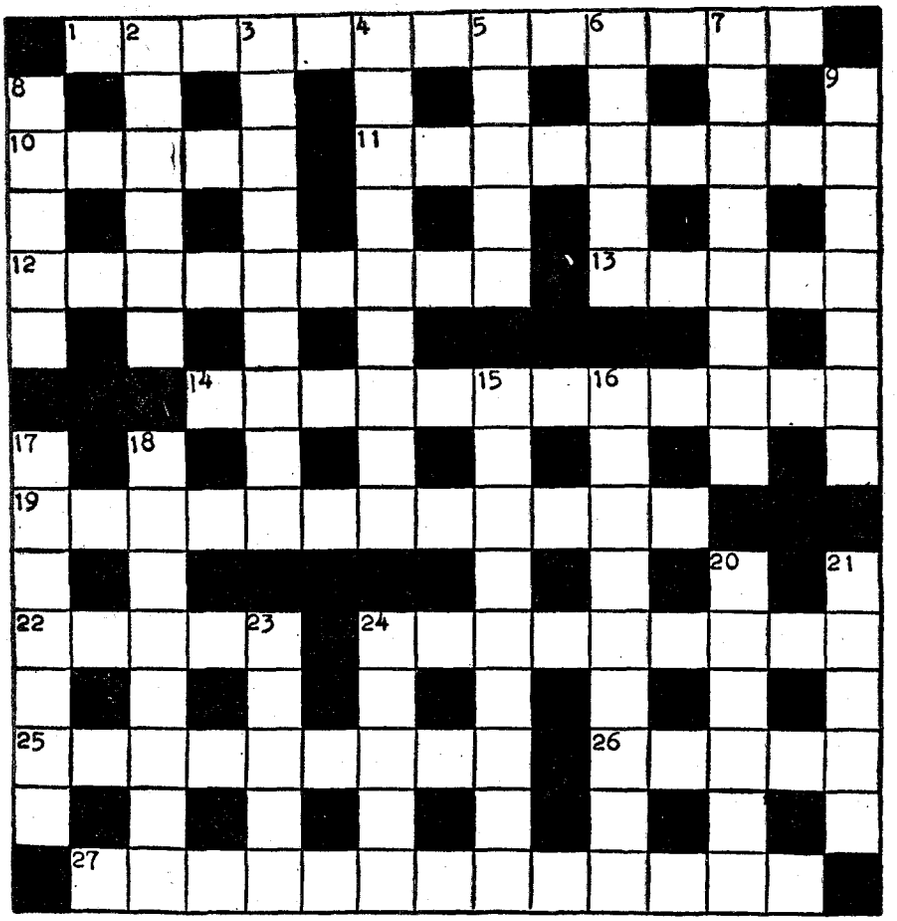

ACROSS

1 The questioner would be even more surprised if he got a complete recapitulation of information. (4, 2, 3, 4)
10 A place to cast aside things, like an empty branch, perhaps. (5)
11 Too much ventilation, as one with a poor sense of balance might acquire? (9)
12 Would such drunken rascals still be able to support their wives? (4, 5)
13 Silver formation peculiar to Akron. (5)
14 Relieve a city from bondage? (On a river, but suggestive of a coast!) (12)
19 There's something about the stormy seas that disturbs men's rest, but the implication is more than first rate. (12)
22 Not Tokyo, but another Japanese city. (5)
24 Become afraid to fall in love? (4, 5)
25 A German port, perhaps. (5, 4)
26 All these numbers are lively. (5)
27 No hanging matter implied this way. (13)

DOWN

2 Sometimes paid when there's a little silver in the house. (6)
3 An addition of 500 would make just a fraction of its worth. (3-6)
4 "Not how fast, but how far," they say. (9)
5 Not all union men like to see this hop. (5)
6 You can shoot more with it—even bear, if I were there! (5)
7 Musical composition, or a place where Kipling would love to roll. (8)
8 A Greek star or compound position. (5)
9 Peculiar, in that the first ran, generally. (7)
15 Redesigned as the dome of a dwelling place. (9)
16 Dutch city where Ludwig gets to eat, in a way, with no vegetables. (9)
17 They deal with things to which they have no title, but there are many principals involved. (7)
18 Not exactly hammy—philosophical, rather. (8)
20 It's a wonderful thing! (6)
21 Pursuit of the den? (5)
23 Never lean—in the other direction, that is! (5)
24 Look with rage out of the broken bay window in France. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 552

ACROSS:—1 and 9 ONCE BITTEN TWICE SHY; 6 SPAR; 10 PILLAGE; 11 NOWHERE; 12 WINDLASS; 13 CLAIM; 15 HARPS; 17 INSISTENT; 19 BOWLEGGED; 21 YARDS; 23 OWNER; 24 SUPPOSED; 27 ENSNARE; 28 RESPECT; 29 HART.

DOWN:—1 OGPU; 2 COLLIER; 3 BEARD; 4 and 30 THE TAMING OF THE SHREW; 5 ERNES; 7 PREPARE; 8 RHEUMATISM; 14 SHIBBOLETH; 16 SPEARMAN; 18 SIDE PORCH; 20 WINDSOR; 23 ROE DEER; 24 SHELF; 25 OASIS; 26 STOW.

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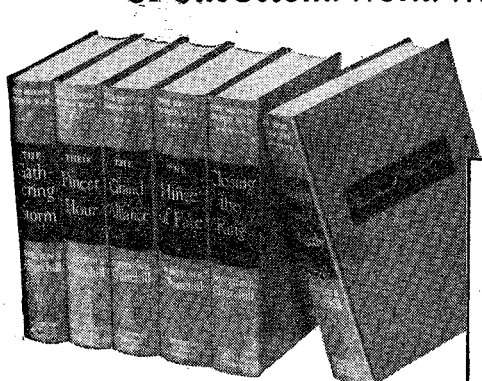

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